Rhode Island Historical Society Collections

Vol. XXIV JULY, 1931 No. 3

A MEXICAN BANNER CARRIED BY A BATTALION OF 500 MEN FROM THE PROVINCE OF OAXACA. IT WAS TAKEN FROM THE BATTLEFIELD OF CERRO GORDO, APRIL 17, 1847, AND BROUGHT HOME BY GEORGE W. GUILD, AN AMERICAN OFFICER.

In the Society's Museum.

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXIV July, 1931 No. 3

ADDISON P. MUNROE, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
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Some Ancient Roads in the Pettaquamscutt Purchase

By WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER

"The road turned first towards the left
Where Pinker's quarry made the cleft;
The path turned next towards the right,
Because the mastiff used to bite,
Then left because of Slippery Height,
And then again towards the right—
We could not take the left because
It would have been against the laws. . ."

G. K. Chesterton.

The eccentric wanderings of the ancient roads of our forefathers often cause us to ponder until we realize the difficulties under which they were laid out and constructed. Chesterton's verses are apt, as they depict a few of the various obstructions to the ideal straight road; and in our

own wilderness, with swamps, out crops of granite, and rivers, where the "riding over" place must be chosen in lieu of a bridge, there were many natural impediments presented. Also there were the boundaries of farms and house lots to be skirted for to cross "would have been against the laws" invoked by an irate landholder.

It may be, therefore, of interest to learn when some of our early roads were built and why they were laid out with such seeming disregard to the axiom concerning the straight line. The old Narragansett Country was such a typical example that it may well be taken as an illustration for the rest of the Colony.

On January 20, 1657[1], Samuel Wilson, John Porter, John Hull, Samuel Wilbour and Thomas Mumford executed the first deed of purchase with the Sachems of the Narragansett Country for that great tract of land which, as a result of that and subsequent deeds, the last dated 1661, was to contain, in area, about twelve square miles. These five men, together with Benedict Arnold and William Brenton who were admitted at a later date, were known as the Purchasers and the land as the Pettaquamscutt Purchase.

Unfortunately the minutes of the meetings of the Purchasers are most incomplete and the dates of the earliest apportionments of the lands are, therefore, very difficult to present. We know, however, by surviving deeds and records, that by 1663 the Purchasers had commenced to assign and sell lands to outsiders; but it is certain that they had previously allotted various tracts among themselves.

With the sale of lands it became imperative that roads be laid out as the country side had nothing as a means of travel, save the old Indian trails. This difficult work was evidently undertaken about 1660, the date being approximately confirmed by two depositions made in the year

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[1]Elisha R. Potter, *Early History of Narragansett*, pp. 275-286.

1727; as in the first of these, dated July 8th, the deponent, Benoni Gardner[2], referring to one of the highways, states that it "is now near Seventy years Since the Laying out of ye Same".

These depositions, one by Benoni Gardner as referred to above and the other by Henry Gardner[3] dated three days later, are the main evidence that remains of the earliest roads of the Purchase. A road plat by Helme[4] confirms the position and direction of the roads to such a degree as to verify the testimony of the Gardners.

As the first settlement in the Purchase was on the Easterly slope of what is now Tower Hill, at the place then called Pettaquamscutt, the roads laid out for the convenience of the house holders at that place will therefore be considered first. The other roads and highways leading into the "wilderness" to the westward always have their beginning from this "Country Road at the head of the Lotts".

Benoni Gardner says that this road, now known as the Tower Hill Road, commenced "at Esqr Brinton (s) Land and Extended Northward So fare as sd Purchase went". Brinton, or Brenton's land was situated on the Southeasterly side of the road through the village of Wakefield, from the Saugatucket River to a point just north of where the Tower Hill House now stands. Henry Gardner simply says that the north bound of the road was the Purchase line, but gives no southerly termination. It may have originally commenced at the Brenton land, but it would soon

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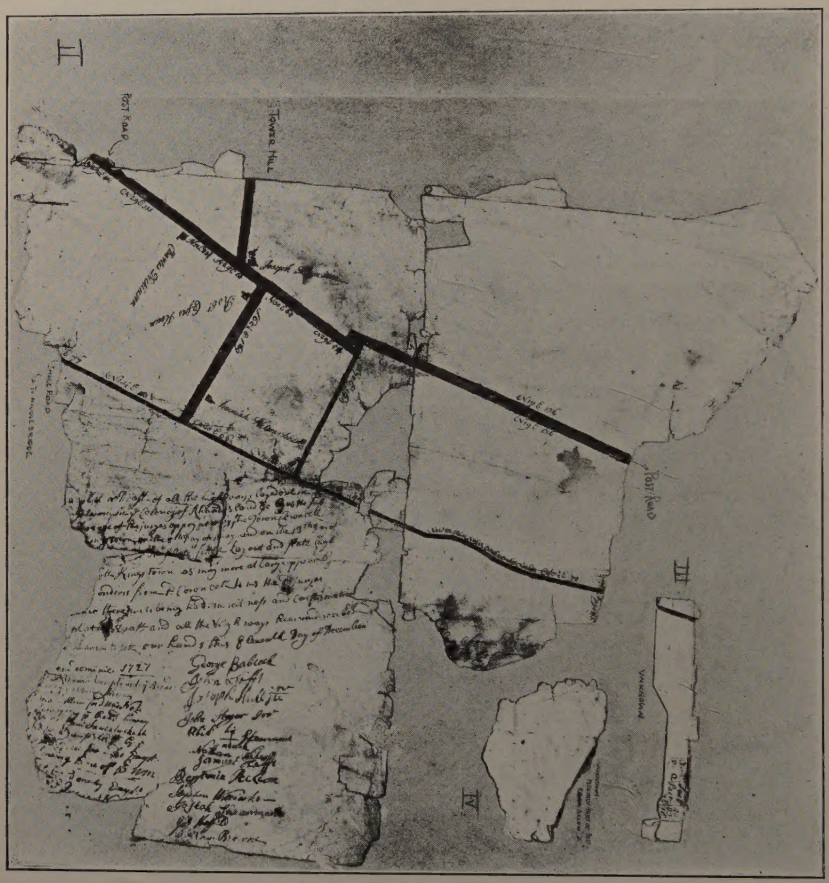
[2]*South Kingstown Land Evidence*, vol. 3, pp. 192-193. Benoni was the eldest son of George and Herodias (Hicks) Gardner. He was born about 1635 and died in 1731.

[3]*South Kingstown Land Evidence*, vol. 3, p. 193. Henry was a brother of Benoni.

[4]Fragments of this plat by James Helme were found among the papers of the late Elisha R. Potter. It is dated 1727 and it would seem probable that the depositions were taken to aid in the drawing and layout of the roads.



THE ROADS AT PETTAQUAMSCUTT

The upper road is that at the "head of the Lotts" now the Post Road. The lower is the road along the river at the foot of the hill. The connecting road to the right is the former way to the Lead Mine. The road leading upward from the Post Road is the highway connecting with the "Broad Road" at the Saugatucket River. Note signatures and dates.

appear to have been extended along by the head of the Purchaser's lands that bordered on the westerly side of the Salt Ponds and ocean, until it reached at least the southerly line of the Purchase. The westerly bounds of these divisions of land mark approximately today, or at least prior to recent changes due to motor traffic, the course of the Post Road as far as the Charlestown line, which line at that point is in fact the original southerly bound of the Purchase. This extension, for some distance, is shown on the Helme fragment.

At the foot of the hill "called Pettequamscutt," or rather at the foot of the lots, another road was laid out on the westerly bank of the Pettaquamscutt, or Narrow River. This road originally extended from south of the Middle Bridge, so called, to Coles Mill which was adjacent to the site of Gilbert Stuart's birthplace. At present it stops short of this, but an abandoned driftway through the woods still shows the original course. Benoni only mentions it, but his brother George says that there "was laid out a highway sixty years agone & upwards from Segg [*Sedge*] Island along by the foot of the Lotts on the Petequamscutt Hill in said town to the grist mill which now belongs to Elisha Cole or a mill that stood thereabouts." The mill that "stood thereabouts" was the mill built by Thomas Mumford in 1686/1687.

From this road there were two connecting with the Country Road at the head of the lots. With reference to the first of these, Benoni states that, "there was one Highway laid out by the Lead Mine from the uper highway at the head of the Lotts down to the highway to the foot of said Lotts". Henry Gardiner states that it was formally laid out "for the convenience of going to sd Lead mine". It was originally laid out with the generous width of 20 rods. However, the lead mine, known by the Indians as Cajoot, does not appear to be as valuable as was expected and "afterwards the said Purchasers gave four Rods in width

on the north part of Sd Twenty Rods [*road*] from the Lower highway to the Country Rhod afore mentioned for the use & benefit of the Town and the remainder part of said twenty rods the Sd Purchasors conveyed to Thomas Mumford . . . in part pay for John Mumford surveying". The road, as well as the mine, fell into disuse and first the portion from the mine to the river road ceased to appear on contemporary plats and later the remainder. It is, however, shown on the Helme plat, where it appears as the northern of the two roads.

The other road down the hill to the river still exists very much the same as when laid out. This was the road over which travel must go from the westward, over the Pettaquamscutt River, across Boston Neck to the ferry to Conanicut and Newport. This road is the southern of the two on the Helme Plat. It is at the southwest corner of this road where the old grave yard still remains. This land was originally given by Samuel Sewall for a church; and here Rev. Dr. Joseph Torrey, minister and doctor, lies buried. South of this road is situated the remains of Jireh Bull's stone house or garrison, destroyed by the Indians in 1675.

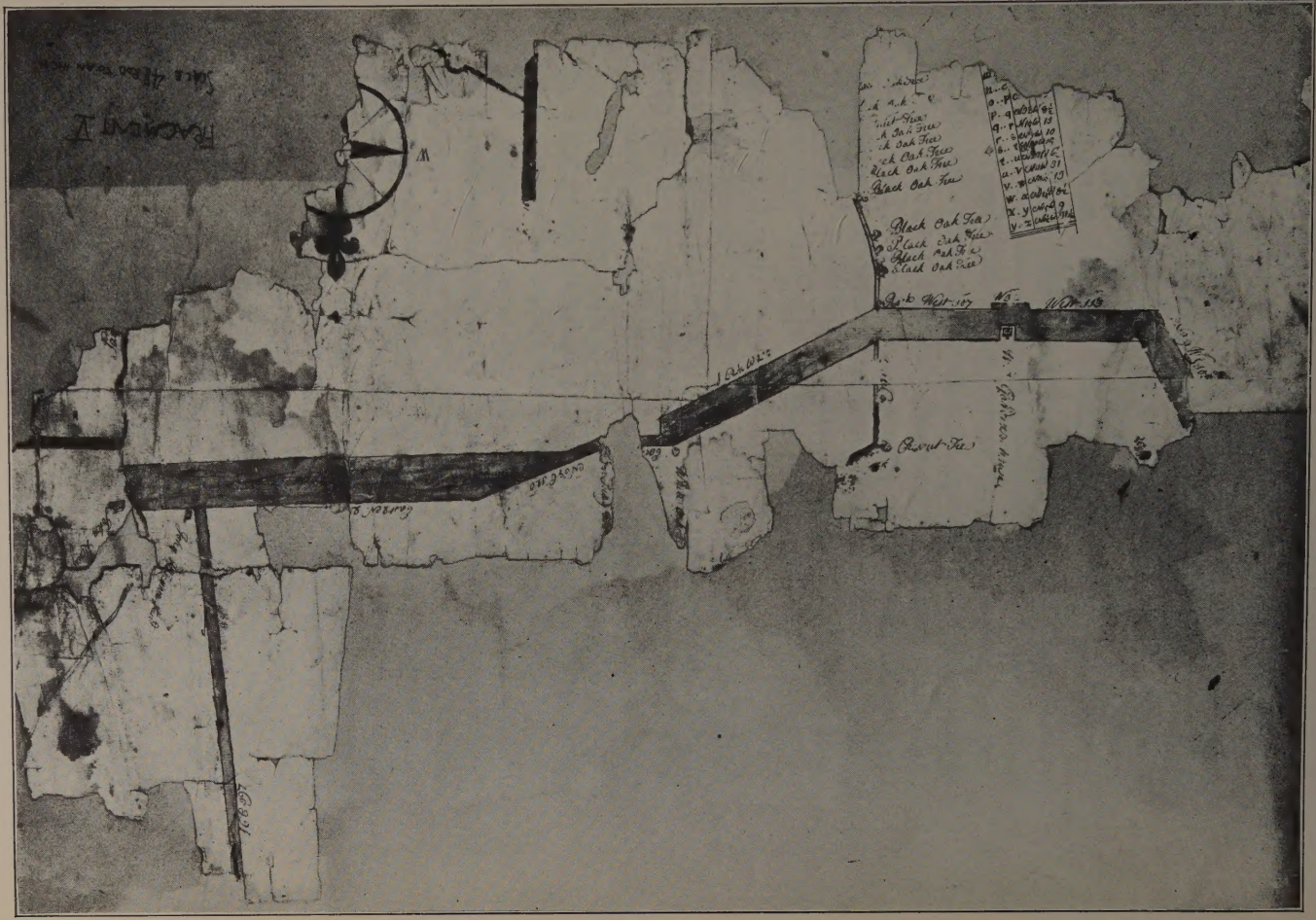
The continuation of the above road, which led to the west country, where the extensive farm lands of the settlers at Pettaquamscutt were situated, commenced on the road at the head of the lots just south of the juncture of the so-called country road and the road described in the preceding paragraph. Benoni Gardiner simply refers to it as "an highway Runing out of Sd highway [*at head of the lots*] Wistward up to Sawcatucket River" . . . Henry "also saith that the Said Purchasers Laid out a Country Rhode near the house of William Browns where Joseph Hammons now Lives Leading . . . to Saucotuct River." Helme's plat shows Hammon's house, which was formally Brown's, which places the beginning of the road very definitely. On this road stood the first jail, and nearby, the

first court house in King's Province, later King's County. Also on this road the Rev. Dr. Torrey lived his very useful life.

At the Saugatucket River this road met the most remarkable road laid out by the Purchasers. Of course they had land a plenty but why such a gargantuan highway! No wonder Helme, many years later, called it "the Broad Road". Benoni Gardner gives it first place in his deposition and "Saith that to his Certain Knowledge that the highway Leading from the Sawcatucket In Said Kingstown up to the Ceder Swamp was laid out upon a Straight Line from Said Sawcatucket up to Sd Ceder Swamp by the purchasers of petaquamscutt Purchase fourty Rod in bredth throughout, Southward from Jeri Bulls Line [,] himself being then present and one unproved in lyout of sd highway [,] and also the Land formerly belonging to William Haviland" . . . "Jeri Bulls Line" was the southerly line of his five hundred acre farm at Little Rest Hill. This great road, 220 feet wide, ran in a westerly direction from the Saugatucket River through what is now Watson's Corner, Gould and Curtis Corners, to the edge of the Cedar Swamp by Worden's Pond.

A fragment of the Helme plat fortunately shows this remarkable road; but also shows that the generous proportions were not carried out but for two hundred and ninety rods from the Saugatucket River. Here it narrowed down to ten rods for a distance of about two hundred rods, when it abruptly increased to twenty-six rods until it reached the Cedar Swamp, obligingly turning out to avoid the residence of William Gardner, Esquire! There are references to this road as of twenty-six rods in width but its vagaries would allow it almost any designation.

A further point to be noticed on the Helme Plat is the utter disregard as to the juncture of the "Broad Road" with the road from Pettaquamscutt to the Saugatucket at John Kenyon, Jr.'s house. Anyone travelling this road today

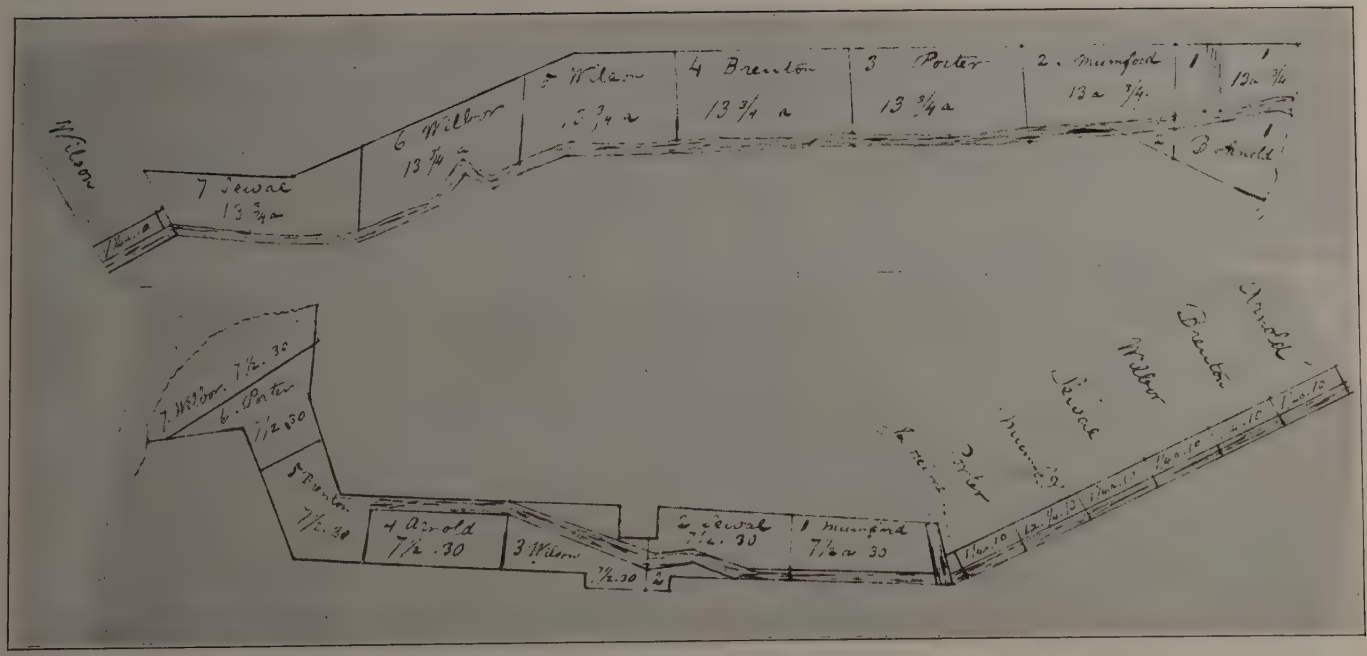

Black Oak Tree
Black Oak Tree
Black Oak Tree

may still note, at this point, a sharp bend to the south which was necessarily made to join the two roads.

The "Broad Road," however, soon was shorn of its greatness; for in the beginning of the year 1726-7, the proprietors of the Pettaquamscutt Purchase ordered Helme to reduce the road to five rods width, and to divide the surplus land on either side into house lots for the Purchasers. The plat of these divisions is reproduced herewith.

Helme's plat further shows two roads running northward from the "Broad Road." The first was that near the Saugatucket at what is now Watson's Corners. Benoni describes this as follows: "and also another highway beginning at the aforesd fourty Rode highway Run Northward by the Land of the Aforesd Bulls then turns westward by sd Bulls and So Long Between Robert Potters Land and Wm Knowles Land Until it Meetts with the afore Named Chepuchsaugg River" . . . Henry Gardner states: "near to Jn I. Kinyons house along between the lands of Abiel Sherman & Saml Helmes northward up to Joseph Cases north east corner and from thence westward between Sd Cases Land & Robert Hannah Land & so along to Chepucket River between the newles (*Knowles*) Land and the Land now in the possession of Robert Potter . . ."

This road still remains the same today. From Watson's Corners northward to Rose Hill, then to the westward to Kingston Hill and through the village of Kingston to the Chepuxet River. The difference in the names of Case and Bull in the two depositions, as owners of the land to the westward of the road, is explained by the fact that heirs of Jireh Bull sold a portion of their land to Joseph Case in 1693. In other words it was Bull's land when the road was laid out, but Case's land when the deposition was made. This situation frequently arises in the description of highways and in the bounds of lands, with confusing results to the unwary searcher.



"THE BROAD ROAD"

Narrowed and divided into lots "by order of the proprietors of Pettiquamscut by me Jas. Helme" February 1726-27.

The other road leading northerly from the "Broad Road" was that which is now a portion of the road which leads in a northerly direction from the Post Road, some distance Southwest from Sugar Loaf Hill in Wakefield, through Curtis Corners, to Kingston Village, and is now known as the "Old South Road." However, the only portion of this road mentioned by the Gardner's is that from Curtis Corners to Kingston Village. Benoni Gardner describes it as "another highway Runing from aforesd forty Rode Highway Extending Northward between the Land of Saml Tefft and Land belonging to Rowse Helme Esqr. So Extending Northward Untill it Metts with the Last highway before recited by Wm Knowles . . ." (the main road through Kingston Village). Henry Gardner describes it from the opposite direction; "another highway Leading from the Sd highway that Runs Between said Knowles & Robert Potters Land Southward to the Eastward of Wm. Knowles & Saml Teffts Land adjoining to Sd Land as far as Robert Hazards Survey Run."

In the year 1703, this road was again laid out[5] by the town, it being a portion of the highway from the "town of Westerly bounds," which is the present bound of Charlestown, to the "bounds between our town and East Greenwich." This highway was what is now the Post Road from the Charlestown line as far as the first road South of Sugar Loaf Hill, here it turns westward into the Old South Road to Kingston, through the village and north along the present North Road, so-called, then east and north and again east by the spot where the old Narragansett Church stood, then northward down Ridge Hill through Allentown, by Devil's Foot to "John North's fourd," now Hunt's River, bound of the town of East Greenwich.

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[5]This report is printed in full in the *Early History of Narragansett*, pp. 223-225.

THE POST ROAD

In the same record, mention is made of the road by Sugar Loaf, through the town of Wakefield, as it now is, and up Tower Hill, to "a ten rod highway, formerly laid out by the purchasers at the head of the lotts upon Pitticomcott Hill." This portion is shown on the Helme Plat.

But in returning to the depositions of the Gardners; one further road should be mentioned. It commenced at the MacSparran Hill, nearly opposite Hannah Robinson Rock, and ran westerly to Mooresfield and from there northerly and westerly, to the junction of the present North Road from Kingston Village, along the South Kingston town line to the Chepuxet River. Henry Gardner describes it as "another Highway . . . Leading between ye Land of John Watson the Land of Wm. Gardiners Westward along between the Land of Benony Gardner & others & along by Robert Hazards Land . . . Westward to Chepuchet River . . ." Benoni Gardner's description is similar except mentioning that it passed by "the Deponents Land".

There is one road that is not mentioned in the depositions of the Gardiners nor in the report of 1704. This is the bit of road from Rose Hill, at the point where the road from Watson's Corners "turn Westward by sd Bulls," to the Saugatucket at Mooresfield. This was probably a driftway at first, cut through the woods as a short cut to join the road to Pettaquamscutt Hill. Such driftways, originally made to afford access to small tracts of land off the main highways, often were later laid out and accepted. Many of the old lots can even now be placed by these old and little used roads.

Roger Williams and the English Revolution of 1648 *(Cont'd)*

By James Ernst

In my article on "Roger Williams and the English Revolution," R. I. H. S. C., Vol. XXIV, No. 1, January, 1931, I presented references to Roger Williams, his pamphlets and his religious and political ideas, discovered in the Thomason Collection of Commonwealth pamphlets in the British Museum. I have some additional references which may be of help in making clearer his relationships in the New England colonies and aid in estimating the influence of Mr. Williams and his writings in bringing on the English Revolution of 1648.

The material of this article is presented with the hope of supplementing and enforcing the statements and conclusions of my article of January, 1931, and for this purpose is arranged in four groups: (1) references to Mr. Williams, his pamphlets and ideas; (2) names of probable associates during his stay in England from 1651 to 1654; (3) pamphlets published to discredit his mission work among the Indians; and (4) references to Mr. Williams and his writings sent to me by Professor William Haller of Barnard College, New York City.

The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution for the Cause of Conscience by Roger Williams appeared in London, July 15, 1644. Parliament by the advice of the Assembly of Divines ordered on August 9 that *The Bloudy Tenent* be burned by the public hangman. (See R. I. H. S. C., Vol. XXIV, January, 1931, pp. 9-12.) In his *Antapologia* Rev. Thomas Edwards, one of the leading Scottish divines, on July 13, 1644, quoted on page 49, *Master Cotton's*

Letter Examined by Roger Williams, and on page 289 referred to Cotton's "Letter to Roger Williams." He further remarked on page 165 that Parliament might with profit take over the New England method of persecution against the Sectaries, referring to the persecutions as if they were commonly known in England; that Parliament might

"Justly have dealt with you, as the Magistrates in New England did with Mr. Williams and the Antinomians, Familists and Anabaptists there, and yet have said they punished you not for your consciences, nor because of such opinions but because your opinions, ways and practices were an occasion of much hurt to the commonwealth, a breach of civil peace."

In September, 1644, William Prynne of Lincoln's Inn, Esq., in *Twelve Considerable Serious Questions touching Church Government* (E-257. Br. Mus.) asked the Independents, and especially Roger Williams and Goodwin, Nye, Simpson, etc.:

"Whether that independent government which some contend for, if positively and fully agreed on, and laid down without disguises, and then freely pondered in the balance of scripture or right reason, be not of its own nature a very seminary of schism and dangerous divisions in Church, and State? A bloudy plea to let in an inundation of all manner of heresies, errors, sects, religions, destructive opinions, Libertinism and lawlessness among us, without any sufficient means of preventing or suppressing them when introduced? Whether the final result of it (as Master Williams in his late dangerous, Licentious Book [Marginal note has *A Bloudy Tenent*] determines) will not really resolve it self into this detestable conclusion: That every man, whether he be Jew, Turk, Pagan, Papist, Arminian, Anabaptist, etc., ought to be left to his own free liberty of conscience, without any coercion or restraint, to embrace and publicly to profess what religion, opinion, church, government, he pleaseth, and conceiveth to be truest,

thought never so erronious, false, seditious, detestable in itself?"

"And whether such a government as this ought to be embraced, much less established among us (the sad effects whereof we have already experimentally felt, by the late dangerous increase of many Anabaptistical, Antinomian, Heretical, Atheisticall opinions etc. . . lately breached, preached and printed . . . ?"

That same month Mr. Prynne published a defense of the National Church in the *Independency Examined* (E-257) calling the Independent ideas, "Some Independent new-minted objections." He hoped to convince, and reconcile them to the State-Church, claiming that in their "new form of government" the "Independents have not yet discovered to the world the full truth of what they assert." Adam Stewart in *To M. S. Alias Two Brethren*, October 3, 1644, (E-20) and an anonymous writer in *Faces About*, October 21, (E-13), take the Independents severely to task for their dangerous opinions which they find so confusing and can not clearly distinguish from the Puritans of the more conservative groups.

After the burning of *The Bloudy Tenent* by order of Parliament, the principles of toleration, full liberty of conscience, and rights of the individual were being discussed with ever more vehemence and bitterness. The "Well-wishers to Man" rose to a vigorous defence of the liberty of "heresies, blasphemies and sedition." Defenders of the principles so forcibly proclaimed by Mr. Williams came forward with a noble courage. Most of them prudently avoided a direct mention of Williams, even though they borrowed copiously and paraphrased freely from his writings. Among these writers were John Goodwin in *M. S. to A. S.*, May 3, (E-45); *Theomachia*, September 2, (E-12); *John the Baptist . . . or, A Necessity of Liberty of Conscience*, September 23, (E-12); *Innocencies Triumph*, October 26(E-14); Henry Burton in *A Vindication of Churches Commonly Called Independents*, November,

(E-17); and Hez. Woodward in *Inquiries into Our Miseries*, December, (E-22). In *A Reply of the Two Brethren to A. S.*, presumably by Philip Nye and Sidrach Simpson, the authors came forward in defense of their associate Roger Williams. John Saltmarsh in *Dawnings of Light*, January 4, 1645, (E-1168(3), under the section discussing "Liberty Improved" presented Twelve points many of which appear in the phraseology of *The Bloudy Tenent. A Short Answer to A. S.*, the second part of Duply, February 1645 (E-271), page 30, has a reference to *The Bloudy Tenent.*

In *Certain Brief Observations and Antiqueries on Master Prin's Twelve Questions*, October 4, (E-10), "A Well-wisher" has a marginal note on Roger Williams, page 5, dealing with Prynne's third query: "In this querie he quotes a saying in a Booke called *The Bloudy Tenent* which was written by one as contrary to this as the Independents as he is to the Presbyterians and they utterly disavow the Booke." Henry Burton gave an *Answer to Mr. William Prynne's Twelve Questions*, November, (E-115), and as friend of Roger Williams and Sir Henry Vane came out in defense of full liberty of conscience: "I know the permitting of so many different opinions in a country is usually objected to as a Bug-bear of all confusion and a disturber in the Civil State . . . Why should it breed greater confusion or decompose the civil peace of England by permitting an English Lutheran, Brownist, Antinomian, Anabaptist, Jew, Turk or others, more than if they were of another nation?" He continued, "I find no national church in the New Testament but several Independent ones." The ideas of the eight queries on pages 24-25 were most fully expressed for first time in *The Bloudy Tenent* on July 15.

On October 19, 1644, Mr. Prynne made *A Full Reply*, (E-257), to the Independents and Sectarians giving a survey of the grounds of the controversy since the appearance of *The Apologetical Narration* by the Five Brethren early in 1644 and including *A Reply of the Two Brethren*

to A. S. He severely condemned the ideas of full liberty of conscience and separation of church and state, and fully agreed with the church and state policy of New England for "excommunicating and banishing those who will not submit unto it."

In December there appeared two pamphlets making references to *The Bloudy Tenent.* Charles Blackwood in the *Storming of Antichrist,* December 28, (E-22(15), page 16, referred to the "Bloudy Tenent of Truth" quoting from it in defense of absolute liberty of conscience. And George Gillespie in *Wholesome Severity Reconciled with Christian Liberty,* December 16, (E-24), with "the chief arguments and exceptions used in the *Bloudy Tenent* . . . examined," discussed the leading pamphlets that appeared in 1644 in defense of complete liberty of conscience and separation of church and state. A few quotations from his pamphlet indicates the position he gave to the *Bloudy Tenent:*

"I find no material arguments in him for liberty of conscience, but what I found in the Bloudy Tenent, the Compassionate Samaritan and M. S. to A. S."

In the Preface he said: "So liberty of conscience is a sweet and taking word among the less discerning sort of godly people newly come out of the house of bondage, out of the popish and Prelatical typranny; I say the less discerning sort, because those of the godly who have their senses exercised to discern good and evil know that liberty of heresie and schism is not part of liberty of conscience." On page 2, appears this objection: "that the magistrate ought not to inflict any punishment nor put forth any coercive power upon heretics or sectaries but on the contrary grant them liberty and toleration . . . the very same is maintained in some books printed . . . in this year of conclusion, viz: The Bloudy Tenent; Liberty of Conscience; The Compassionate Samaritan; John the Baptist; and Mr. Goodwin in his Theomachia, p. 50, and in his Innocencies Triumph, p. 8." On page 12 appears this statement: "The

most arrant maglignant answer in the words of Mr. Williams, Chap. 109-"Civil power or State of Israel was merely figurative" in the Old Testament. Mr. Williams and the *Bloudy Tenent* are mentioned on pages 13, 15, 16, 17, and 30; and on page 18, is this significant quotation: "Christ's ordinances put upon a whole city or a nation may more civilize and moralize, but never Christianize them: says Mr. Williams, Chap. 82."

The attitude of Gillespie and those other pamphleteers who opposed and condemned the Independents and Sectaries and defended Parliament and Assembly of Divines is perhaps most clearly expressed in these word from George Gillespie: complete liberty of conscience and the doctrines of the sectaries is a "pernicious, God-provoking, Truth-defacing, church ruinating, etc., state-shaking toleration. The plain English of the question is, Whether the Christian magistrate be keeper of both Tables?"

In order fully to appreciate the influence of Roger Williams in England it is necessary to have a more precise knowledge of his acquaintances and associates and friends. In 1671 Roger Williams wrote to John Cotton Jr., about an incident which took place during his second visit to England 1651-1654: "That excellent servant of God, Mr. John Owen, (called Dr. Owen) told me before the General, who sent for me about that very business," explained Mr. Williams about the discussion they had of the *Bloudy Tenet Washed White* by John Cotton in 1647," that before I landed himself and many others had answered Mr. Cotton's book already."

Christopher Feake and Mr. Greenhill are known to have been closely associated with Mr. Williams during both his visits to England. In *Dissatisfaction Satisfied*, December 22, 1653, (E-725) pages 17-18, John Goodwin presents a list of men who most probably were associates of Williams on his second visit; he states that "Mr. John Simpson, Mr. William Greenhill, Mr. Thomas Brooks,

Mr. Hanserd Knollys, Mr. T. Harrison, Mr. Christopher Feake, Mr. Richard Wallaston, Mr. Henry Jesse with several others . . . in November, 1651" subscribed to the principles of people's sovereignty and separation of church and state. Roger Williams arrived in London about Christmas time 1651, and we know that he at once became a member of the republican groups of London.

The ministers and magistrates of the United Colonies in New England soon discovered that their "Sunshine" pamphlets on Indian conversions were not sufficient to eradicate the belief in England that they were not prosecuting their mission work with enough zeal. Consequently they published several more pamphlets on Indian missions for the English reading public. These pamphlets had a three-fold aim: to praise their own mission work among the Indians; to prove the statements of Mr. Williams in 1643-1644 false and slanderous in English eyes; and to discredit the mission work of Roger Williams and his fellow-colonists on the Narragansett Bay. The pamphlets created a double falsehood, by giving a distorted view of their own mission work and by making untrue statements about Williams and his fellow-colonists.

Three pamphlets published under the auspices of the "Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in New England, Coopers Hall, London" and edited by Rev. Henry Whitfield, late of New England, are of interest in this sinister and rather unChristlike purpose of the New England clergy: *The Light Appearing More and More towards a Perfect Day*, February, 1651 (E-624); *Strength out of Weakness*, August 4, 1652 (E-673); and *Tear of Repentance*, May 21, 1653 (E-697). The only part of the pamphlets of interest here is that which strives to propagate a false view of the Indian mission work of the settlers on the Narragansett Bay. In the first pamphlet appears this statement by Eliot on page 23: "I advised with Mr. Cotton and others . . . and this I propounded

. . . they shall be wholly governed by the Scriptures in all things both in Church and State; they shall have no other law-giver." In the second pamphlet, we are informed that the covenant prepared for the Indians began: "We are the sons of Adam; we and our forefathers have a long time been lost in our sins." When Williams and others in Rhode Island disagreed with this method of Indian conversion, they fell under the curse of the United Colonies.

The Narragansett sachems did not receive Rev. Eliot and other missionaries "well," but some of the subject Indians did, "expressing likewise that they did not expect their sachems would pray to God because they were so proud." Eliot then condemned Gorton's company for being an evil influence among the Indians, preventing their conversion. Rev. William Leverich of Plymouth makes this implied reference to Williams and his colony about "what singular conflicts I have met withall in my travels amongst our own countrymen, divers of them are transported with their (though not singular) fancies, to the rejecting of all churches and ordinances by a new cunning and . . . the last but most pernicious plot of the Devil to undermine all religion and introduce all Atheism and profaneness, if it were possible, together with which, I have observed a spirit of Pharisaism and formality too, too evidently creeping upon it." Although this is supposed to be an article on Indian missions, its purpose needs no explanation.

Thomas Allen, formerly of New England, gives as his testimony: "It seems that some of late have been so impudently bold (which I cannot sufficiently wonder at) as to report and publickly affirm that there was no such thing as preaching and dispensing of the Gospel among the natives of New England . . . That there is such a work in hand in New England . . . all the magistrates and ministers and people in that place (who know anything) will be ready to attest" (See R. I. H. S. C. Vol. XXIV, No. 1, pp. 40ff, and 49-54). Among the other persons who gave their testimony in praise of Rev. John Eliot and against

Roger Williams are Rev. John Eliot, John Endicott, John Wilson, who mentions Eliot 17 times in 5 pages, Anthony Bessey, Thomas Mayhew, and William French.

Roger Williams, who was then in England, read these pamphlets when they came off the press. Cromwell, Baillie, Edwards, Thoroughgood and many others made it their special duty to confer with Mr. Williams about these pamphlets, and the Indian mission work. Of this he gives a hint in his letters. In 1654, soon after his return to Providence, Williams had occasion to intercede for the Indians and prevent a threatening Indian slaughter. He wrote to the General Court of Massachusetts: "We have in these parts a sound of your meditating of a war against these natives . . . At my last departure for England I was importuned by the Narragansett sachems, and especially by Ninigret, to present their petition to the high sachems of England, that they might not be forced from their religion; and for not changing their religion be invaded by war; for they said they were daily visited by Indians that came from about the Massachusetts that if they would not pray they should be destroyed by war. With these petitions I acquainted, in private discourses, divers of the chiefs of our nation, and especially his Highness, who, in many discourses I had with him, never expressed the least tittle of displeasure, as hath been reported . . . and after hearing of yourselves and us, it hath pleased his Highness and Council to grant amongst other favors to this colony, some expressly concerning the very Indians, the native inhabitants of this jurisdiction."

"I pray it may be remembered . . . how all England and other nations ring with the glorious conversion of the Indians of New England. You know how many books are dispersed throughout the nation on the subject (in some of them the Narragansett chief sachems are publicly branded for refusing to pray and be converted) . . . all the pulpits in England have been commanded to sound of this glorious work (I speaks not ironically, but only mention what

all the printed books mention), and that by the highest command and authority of Parliament, the church wardens went from house to house to gather supplies for this work." But unfortunately Roger Williams was to find upon his return not a glorious conversion, but instead the four United Colonies meditating an Indian war.

Professor William Haller of Barnard College, New York City, recently sent me a list of pamphlets containing references to *The Bloudy Tenent*, with permission to record them in the R. I. H. S. Collections. Most of the works on the list sent by Professor Haller are in the McAlpin Collection of Union Seminary. I shall record his material as he sent it to me. Six of the pamplets were published in 1644: Herbert Palmer, *Glass of God's Providence*, 13 August. "Some bookes . . . plead for Popery, Judaisme, Turcisme, Paganisme, and all manner of false Religions." Thomas Hill, *Season for England's Deepe- Reflection*, 13 Aug., "opening a doore . . . even for Jewes, Turkes, and any whomsoever"; the marginal note says "See Bloody Tenent." Anon, (probably by someone in John Goodwin's crowd, but neither Goodwin nor Henry Robinson) *Certain briefe Observations*, 4 Oct., see p. 5: Margin—"a Booke called the *Bloudy Tenent*." The Independent disavows Williams. (George Gillespie. See McAlpin Catalogue) *A Late Dialogue*, 30 Oct., cites *Bloudy Tenent—Compassionate Samaritane, John the Baptist, Theomachia.* (Henry Robinson) *Answer to Mr. William Prynn*, 1 Nov., on page 27 recommends B. T.—Comp. Sam.—J. the B. And Charles Blackwood, *Storming of Antichrist*, 28 Dec., cites B. T., *M. S. to A. S.* and *Theomachia.*

Five other pamphlets containing references to Mr. Williams were published in 1645: George Gillespie, *Wholesome Severity Reconciled*, 8 Jan., *Bloudy Tenent* is mentioned in title and repeated at length in text. (Henry Robinson) *Short Answer to A. S.* (Adam Stewart) 3 Feb., refers to *Bloudy Tenent* on page 30. Ephraim Pagitt, *Her-*

esiography, 8 May, refers to the *Bloudy Tenent* and also to Milton. (Richard Overton) *Sacred Decretall*, 31 May, refers to the *Bloudy Tenent* in the opening pages. Richard Baillie, *Errours and Indurations*, 30 July, uses the phrase about Turks, Jews, etc. And Thomas Edwards, *Casting Down*, 28 July, 1647, has frequent references to the *Bloudy Tenent*. (Professor Haller has identified *Answer to Mr. William Prynn* and *Short Answer to A. S.* as the works of Henry Robinson.)

No definitive conclusions on the influence of Roger Williams and his pamphlets in the English Civil War and Revolution of 1648 can as yet be drawn from the materials presented in this article and that of R. I. H. S. C., Vol. XXIV, January, 1931. A great deal of research in the Commonwealth pamphlet collections of Union Seminary, Yale, Oxford and Cambridge Universities and the British Museum is still to be done before this question can be finally decided. Nevertheless, the conclusion of Professor Dunning may be tentatively accepted, that *The Bloudy Tenent* "derived its principles and its form from his American experience" and "expressed essentially the resolution of a body of religious sectaries, . . . and the fuller implications of the theory which the work embodied were revealed in the political revolution which was effected in 1647-1648 by the Army."

Among the State Papers of the Public Record Office, London, Admiralty Commission 18, Vol. 115, No. 132, appears a letter from Capt. Joseph Ames, Winsley, Spithead. The letter was sent to his Highness, Lord Protector Cromwell, from Falmouth, on October 10, 1655. Capt. Ames arrived the day before with twelve sails of Newfoundlanders and awaits orders. The letter to his Highness was accompanied "with a young deer that came from Mr. Williams, President in Providence Plantations in New-England."

New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

The *Narrative of American Voyages* of Captain William Owen, R. N., which is printed in the March, 1931, issue of the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, contains ten pages relating to his visit to Rhode Island in August, 1767. Among other comments he wrote: "The private people are cunning, deceitful and selfish" . . . , "Their Magistrates are partial and corrupt; and it is folly to expect justice in their Courts of Judicature" . . . , and "Rhode Island used to be celebrated for the beauty of its women . . ."

Margaret Fuller, by Margaret Bell, with an introduction by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, is a volume of 320 pages recently issued by Charles Boni.

Antiques for April, 1931, contains an article with illustrations of some Rhode Island silver spoons.

A genealogy of the Niles family of Rhode Island appears in the April, 1931, issue of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*.

The Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1929, page 286, contains an account of the Gulf Stream, in which it is related that because the Rhode Island sea captains of about 1770 were acquainted with the course of the Gulf Stream, they were able to make the westward trip across the Atlantic in about two weeks less time than the English packets.

The Society has obtained from the American Antiquarian Society a photostat of a rare poem by Jemima Wilkinson[1], entitled "A Wonderful Dream."

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[1]See R. I. H. S. C., vol. XXIV p. 60.

Bequest

Mr. Victor Wilbour, for many years a member of the Society, died on May 17, 1931. He left a bequest of $20,000, to the Society, to be paid at the death of his sister, and to be known as the Charles and Sarah Howe Wilbour Fund, in memory of his grandparents.

Queen's Fort

Mr. Marsden J. Perry has generously presented to the Society a tract of some fifty-three acres in North Kingstown and Exeter, containing the famous Queen's Fort, which is to be held by the Society as a permanent public historic park.

Notes

The following persons have been admitted to membership in the Society:

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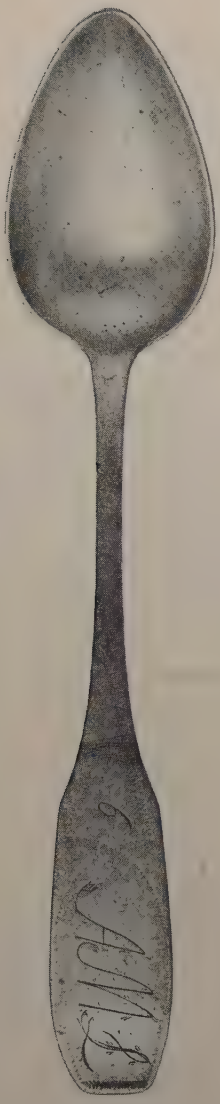
Mrs. Wallace Campbell
Mrs. Howard L. Anthony
Mr. Emil G. Pieper
Mrs. William H. Hoffman
Mrs. Sarah Minchin Barker
Mr. Allan Forbes
Mr. Ernest A. Harris
Rev. Anthony R. Parshley
Mrs. Austin T. Levy
Hon. Ernest L. Sprague
Mrs. James A. Nealey
Miss Mary H. Parsons



ONE OF FIVE SILVER SPOONS MARKED A. M. L., FOR ARNOLD AND MARY LEWIS OF EXETER WHO WERE MARRIED OCTOBER 10, 1822.

These spoons were made out of coin silver by Robert Reynolds of Exeter, R. I., and were recently presented to the Society by Miss Alice Fry of Willimantic, Connecticut.

Heraldic Notes

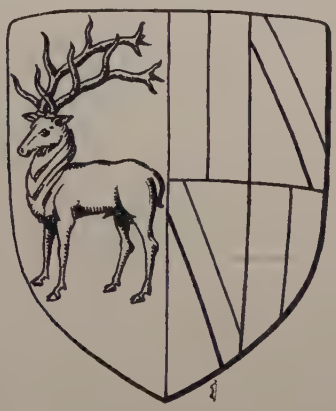
BOWEN

Armorial tombstones mark the graves of Jabez Bowen of Rehoboth, Mass., who died in 1770, aged 74, and of his wife, Huldah, who died in 1754. These stones are in the old Rehoboth burial ground, near Rumford in East Providence. The arms are "A stag trippant pierced in the back by an arrow," with the crest "A stag's head erased." The carving on the stone in memory of Huldah is much more obliterated by the ravages of time than the carving on Jabez' stone.

Burke gives "Azure a stag argent with an arrow stuck in the back and attired or" for the Bowens of Kittle Hill and Swansea, co. Glamorgan, but with a different crest. Burke also gives a variant coat "Gules a stag trippant argent pierced in the back with an arrow and attired or" as granted in 1812 to the Bowens of Milford, co. Mayo. The crest is different, and the change of the field from azure to gules was evidently "for difference."

The Jabez Bowen of this armorial tombstone was born in 1696, the son of Dr. Richard Bowen (±1658-1736), son of Thomas Bowen of Salem, son of Richard Bowen of Rehoboth, who is said to have come from Swansea, co. Glamorgan.

JONES



William Jones, Senr., of Wellington in Great Britain, died on September 26, 1739, aged 59 years, and was buried in what is now East Providence, where his grave is marked by an armorial tombstone. The arms are "A stag statant impaling a quartered coat, 1 and 4 per pale, 2 and 3 a bend," with the crest "A stag's head."

Burke gives "Sable a buck passant argent attired or" for the Jones of Esthall, co. Oxford, 1634, descended from the Jones of co. Flint, and "Sable a stag standing at gaze argent, attired and unguled or" for the Jones of co. Monmouth. The three crests differ. Apparently "Sable a stag argent" was the parent coat of one family of Jones of Wales.

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Mrs. Jesse H. Metcalf
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Lt. Col. Willis C. Metcalf
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Rev. Arthur Rogers
Mrs. Mabel K. Rogers
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Mr. Kenneth Shaw Safe
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